



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

VOL. 13

JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1911

No. 3

NOTES ON THE KADO, OR SUN DANCE OF THE KIOWA

By HUGH LENOX SCOTT

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Plains of the West were inhabited at the time of their discovery by a number of wandering tribes that depended upon the buffalo for subsistence. They spoke different languages, yet possessed together a culture that was distinctive of the Plains.

One of the most conspicuous elements of that culture, after the sign language, was the Medicine or Sun dance.

It is not known in what tribe this dance originated. It must, however, have started in the north, for all the tribes now on the southern Plains that practise the ceremony are, like the Kiowa, intruders, and brought it with them from the north.

The Kiowa received their Sun dance from an old Arapaho, to whom it was given by the Crows. It may have been that some of its features originated with the Crows, and were afterward amalgamated with others from a different source, after the Kiowa left the northern Plains.

The Kiowa, for instance, do not allow any cutting of flesh or shedding of blood in their Sun dance, whereas the Crows, from whom the Kiowa received the ceremony, cut themselves like the Dakota and Blackfeet, as well as the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, who migrated south after the Kiowa had moved down, packing their property on dogs.

The Pawnee have been considered somewhat original in their culture. Some of the customs of other tribes have been traced to them; they were long in the district where found at the discovery, and appear to have reached it from the Southwest, according to their traditions, while their bloody sacrifice of captives to the Morning Star had a Mexican cast. They were enemies of the Kiowa as far back as the latter can remember, down to March, 1873, when peace was made between them on the Washita.¹ The Comanche preceded the Kiowa, moving southward from the headwaters of the Platte and the Arkansas, moving their property with dogs. They left behind them their relatives the Shoshoni. The Comanche have no Sun dance, nor do their western relatives the Lemhi, according to Lowie, whereas the Shoshoni not only have a Sun dance but cut themselves like the other northern Plains tribes. It is therefore probable that the Comanche left the Shoshoni before the acquisition of the Sun dance. The former do not appear in Spanish writings as being in the south before the year 1700.

It is the view of the writer, then, that the Sun dance originated on the northern Plains—we can follow it certainly from the Kiowa to the Crows in one instance, and the Crows may have been the tribe which originated it, Pawnee influence possibly being responsible for the torture features, although we have nothing definite pointing to the Pawnee,² other than the fact of their ceremonies, for the Morning Star.

The Kiowa and Kiowa Apache both say that they have been together ever since they grew up as a people, migrated together from the north, and have the same Sun dance. The Kiowa Apache have a regular, appointed place in the Kiowa ceremonial circle.

Those of us who study the Indian in his home, possibly from the viewpoint of a single tribe, are apt to take a narrow view of the customs and ceremonies observed, but it is a fact that a tribe can not

¹ Battey, *Life and Adventures*, p. 130.

² The counterpart of the torture features in the old world is found in India and is called "hook swinging." "A place on the shoulders is beaten by the priest until benumbed. After that the hook is fixed into the flesh thus prepared, and in this way the unhappy wretch is raised in the air. While suspended thus he is careful not to show any sign of pain, and it is done in fulfillment of a vow for recovery from sickness." —Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 605.

really be known from what is learned from that tribe alone. It has been well said in an analogous case that "he who knows but one language knows none." We must therefore study each tribe not only by itself but also in the light thrown upon it by our knowledge of other primitive peoples and of the literature bearing upon the whole subject, then we will find that many of the habits and customs of primitive man have their counterparts among tribes of like degree of culture and similar environment, not only in their own neighborhood, but in every part of the world; so that what would otherwise appear to be an isolated case is, in many instances, proven to be one of a world-wide series, and this will be found to be true of the Sun dance.

The Kiowa considered the Kado to be their most important ceremony, the whole tribe participating therein. It was a religious drama, the ceremonial worship of the Sun in his vernal splendor, as the creator and regenerator of the world.

They believed that it warded off sickness, caused happiness, prosperity, many children, success in war, and plenty of buffalo for all the people. It was frequently vowed by persons in danger from sickness or the enemy, but was determined upon by the *Taimay* keeper, who announced the time and place.

The corresponding medicine-lodge of the Cheyenne is called¹ "The new life lodge" according to the interpretation of the priest. The name means not only the "lodge of the new life" but the "new life" itself, and the performance of the ceremony is supposed to recreate, reform, reanimate the earth, vegetation, animal life, etc. When the writer lived among the Dakota he used to hear them call their Sun dance "Wi wakan wacipi," literally "Sun medicine dance." In his *Siouan Cults*, J. O. Dorsey, a much more competent Dakota scholar, calls it "Wi wanyang wacipi," literally "Looking at the Sun they dance." Dorsey is more likely to be correct in this matter, though possibly both names may be correct in different localities. However that may be our names "Sun dance" and "Medicine dance" evidently take their origin from this source. The sign name for the dance is made by imitating the blowing of

¹ G. A. Dorsey, *Field Columbian Museum Publications*, 103, vol. ix, no. 2, p. 57.

the whistle each dancer carries, the looking upward at the sun, as well as the up and down dance movement of right hand and shoulders in tune to the music of the drum and whistle. This sign name is the same for all the Sun dances of all the tribes both north and south, although these have different names in the spoken tongues.

The principal element in the Kado is the *Taimay* which is an image brought originally to the Kiowa from the Crows by an old Arapaho, and all the keepers of the Taimay have since been of the blood of that old Arapaho.

The Taimay is in the likeness of a small person, or doll, without legs. Its head is a small round stone covered with deerskin painted to resemble a person. It wears a shell gorget and has an eagle feather on its head; its body is made of deerskin and has short eagle body feathers hanging down all over it.¹

When used in the dance, the body is tied to a staff about six feet long, stuck in the ground, in front of a cedar screen, which is opposite the main door, in the rear of what corresponds to the altar place, though there is no altar. This cedar screen makes a retiring place for the participants in the dance.

When not in use the image is kept rolled in various wrappings in a parflèche with a moon painted on it. The first wrapping is a white polecat's skin that was captured from the Pawnee about forty-nine years ago; the second is the skin of an antelope; the third is of calico. This whole bundle is then put into the parflèche.

The polecat's skin was the pipe bag of a Pawnee who was killed the fall before the "Smallpox Sun dance" on the "Red Sleeve river" (Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas in Kansas), according to the calendar history of the Kiowa, obtained by the writer from the hereditary keeper, covering a period of more than sixty years. The "Smallpox Sun dance" was held in 1862 and the Pawnee was therefore killed in the fall of 1861. This calendar was the first of those discovered, and led to the discovery of the others mentioned by Mooney in his "Calendar History of the Kiowa."² The Scott calendar is now in the Museum of the University of California.

¹ See pl. xviii, b; pl. xix, d; pl. xx, h; pl. xxi, a; pl. xxii, b.

² 17th Ann. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 143.

Other dates in Kiowa history during the last sixty years may be checked from these various calendars with considerable accuracy.

The Taimay image is kept with the greatest reverence and is never exposed except at the time of the Kado. Mooney tried in vain, for a year, to get a model of it, but, although many Kiowa were familiar with its appearance, it was considered too sacred to be copied, and he left the west without it. Fortunately I was able to procure one, which was sent after him, and it is of this he speaks in the memoir above cited.¹

The Kiowa say that the word Taimay has for its only meaning "mosquito" and they have lost all idea of the connection of the mosquito with the image, or the dance, if any ever existed.

The dance was usually held in the spring. They say "We watch the white (sage) grass. When that is about a foot high, and the horses are all fat, that is the time," but circumstances might and frequently did delay it until after that time. In 1873 it began on June 16; the next year it did not begin until July 3.² It has been held in the middle of summer, and on several occasions there have been two in one summer. There were some years when circumstances prevented it altogether. It could not be held while the Taimay was in the possession of the Osage, from whom it was recovered in 1835, after peace was made with that tribe, a consequence of the Dragoon expedition of 1834 (the initial expedition of the 1st Dragoons described by Catlin in his work on *The North American Indians*). There was no dance held in 1870, the year the old Taimay keeper, An-so-teen, or Long-foot, died. The last Kado was held in 188—; the writer saw this Sun dance pole standing on Oak creek not far from the big bend of the Washita as late as 1892.

Formerly two small images were displayed with the Taimay—their staffs stuck into the ground in front of the cedar screen—but they were captured by the Ute in 1868 in a fight on the upper Canadian, near Adobe Walls, in the vicinity of what the Kiowa call "Red Bluffs" or "Red Promontory." The little images were kept with the Taimay, by the Taimay keeper, until Long-foot "took

¹ Page 242, plate XIX.

² Battey, op. cit., p. 166.

pity" on Comalty, the uncle of the present Comalty, and gave him one of the little ones to keep, but kept the other one with the Taimay. The small images were called "man" and "woman" respectively. Sometimes the "man" image went to war, but the "woman" never went

The other ceremonial articles belonging to the Kado were:

1. A fan made of the tail-feathers of the raven—lengthened out and stuck through a hoop into a handle (pl. xviii, d; pl. xx, g).

2. A bison's skull, painted half red and half black; the eye sockets were stuffed with plugs made of long leaves of a plant that grows near the water—possibly flag leaves—by doubling the blades, then tying a string around the bunch, about six inches from the bight, thus making the bight into a round puff. The ear and nose cavities were treated in the same way, because "this pleased the buffalo." The black paint represented the black paint used by a successful war party; the red paint represented the attainment of old age. This skull and its symbols therefore were prayers for success in war; for the attainment of old age; for an abundance of buffalo for all the people. (Pl. xix, c.)

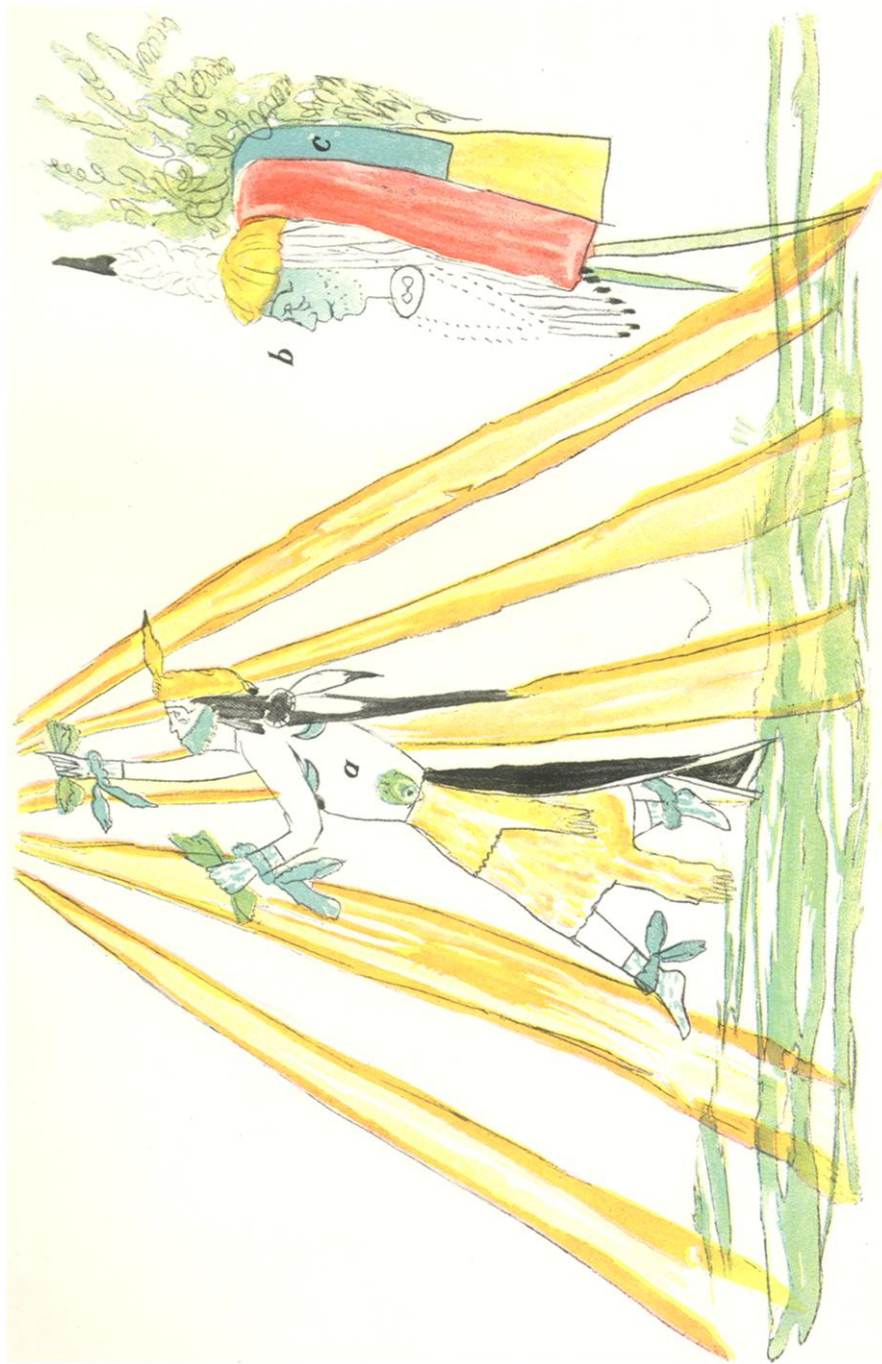
3. A woman's root digger. This was sharpened and stuck into the ground; the stick was of ash and dressed like a man; the head was somewhat smaller than one's fist, and had a breath feather (*i. e.*, one of the fluffy, downy feathers that grow under the long tail-feathers of the war or golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), and flutter when breathed through); the breast has short eagle body feathers hanging down like the Taimay. This stick was an innovation made by Komaudy and has no medicine power; it is not known what he intended to represent by it. (Pl. xix, b.)

4. Two small hollow mounds of clay used as "censers" in which live coals were kept and upon which dried cedar leaves were sprinkled, the smoke from which was used as incense, a "sweet savor." (Pl. xix, a, a; pl. xx, d, f; pl. xxii, c.)

5. There were a number of ancient pipes kept with the Taimay, one especially spoken of as a "straight pipe" used in drawing the buffalo into the medicine lodge; it is believed that the straight pipe was the earliest of all varieties of pipes.

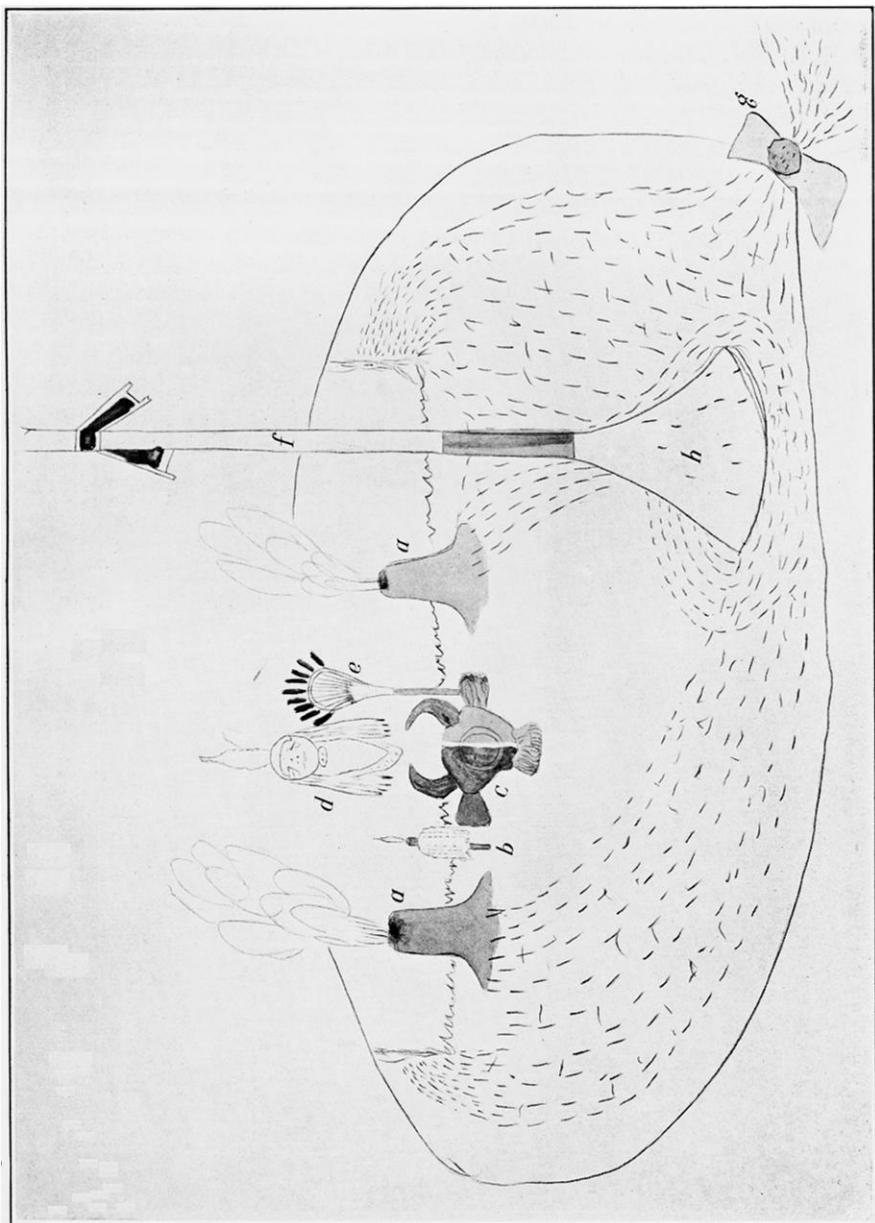
6. Two rawhide rattles (pl. xx, c).

The Taimay was regarded as the mediator between the people and the Sun power, as appears from some of the prayers made to it. They say: "The Father above made you for our life. We do not



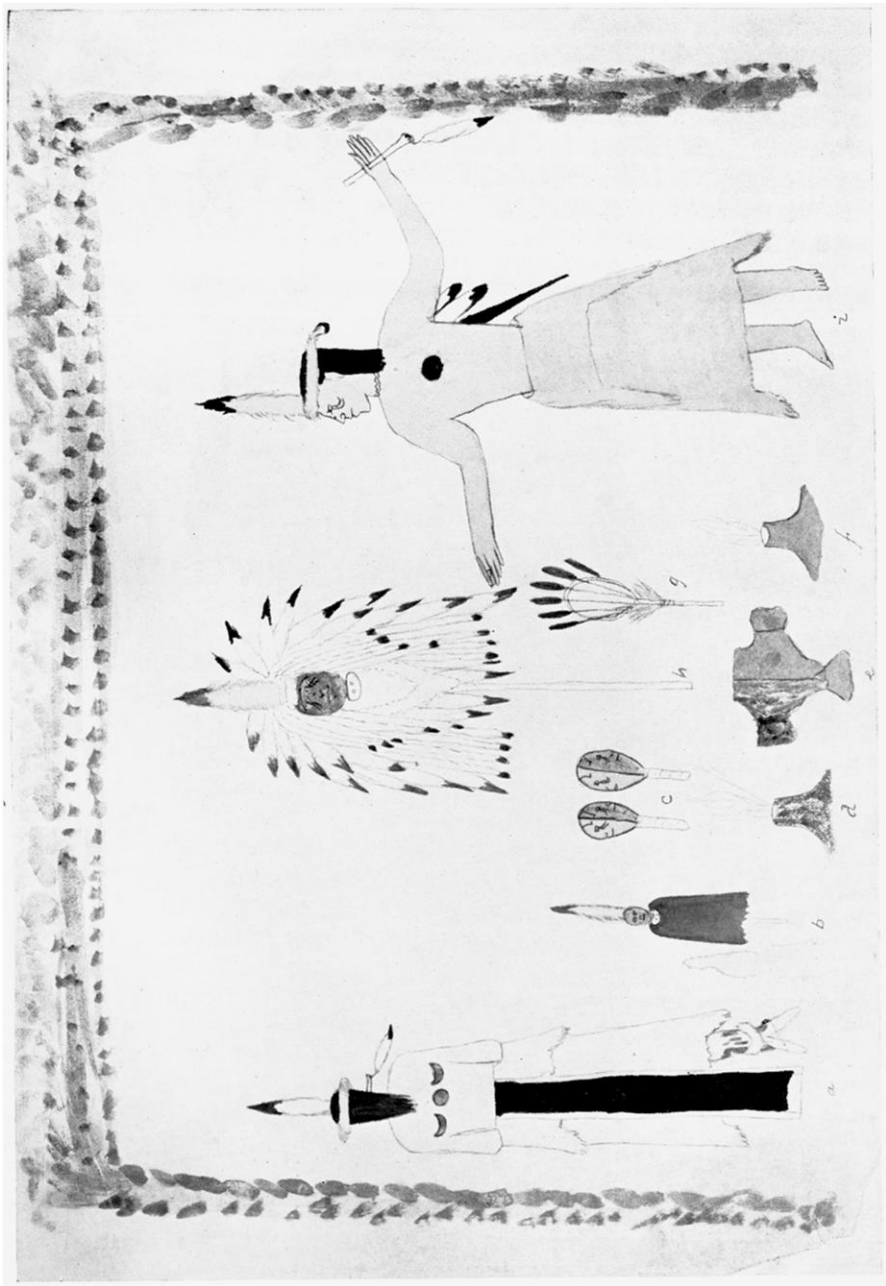
TAIMAY KEEPER'S ASSISTANT DANCING BEFORE THE TAIMAY

a. One of the four Taimay keeper's assistants dancing. *b.* Taimay image. *c.* Offerings of cloth to the Taimay. The yellow streamers represent bolts of cloth unrolled, with upper ends tied, as offerings to the Sun-dance pole.



SUN-DANCE PROPERTIES ARRANGED IN THE MEDICINE LODGE

a. Earthen censer containing coals for burning cedar. *b.* Komau's innovation: a woman's foot-digger. *c.* Buffalo skull. *d.* Taimay. *e.* Ceremonial fan. *f.* Sun-dance pole. *g.* Stone in the doorway. *h.* Sand mound around foot of Sun-dance pole. - - - Tracks of dancers running in the door at *g.* around the center pole, and behind the left of the cedar screen (represented by the space back of *d*) and emerging at the right.



SUN-DANCE PRIEST (TAIMAY KEEPER) OFFICIATING BEFORE THE TAIMAY WITHIN THE LODGE

a. Assistant of the Taimay keeper. *b.* Komau's innovation. *c.* Ceremonial rattles. *d.* Earthen censers. *e.* Buffalo skull. *f.* Earthen censer. *g.* Ceremonial fan. *h.* Taimay image tied to its staff. *i.* Taimay keeper.

know him. We can not see him where he is. Maybe you know him. Ask him to give you more power for our life," etc. The Taimay is supposed also to watch over the fortunes of the people. This is shown by the story of Komaudy who was lying, by himself, abandoned for dead in Mexico when he heard the Sun-dance whistle far off at night and the Taimay came to him and told him that "he was not going to die but would recover and get back to his people. And he got back."

The truth about this image, however, seems to be that it is used to give concreteness to their vague ideas of the Sun power, something that they can take hold of and endow with attributes—as an imaginative child does a doll—and dress up like the Samoyed stones described by Tylor.¹ "The Samoyed travelling ark sledge with its two deities, one with a stone head, the other a mere black stone, both dressed in green robes, with red lappets and both smeared with sacrificial blood, may serve as a type of stone worship." "The Virgin of the Caridad de Cobre" of eastern Cuba, the "Virgin of Antipolo" near Manila, and the "Santo Niño" of Cebu, are small figures about 18 inches long, dressed in jewels, gold, and velvet, that are held in great esteem by the devout and have come down from a respectable antiquity. The "Virgin of Antipolo" used to make many trips with the Spanish galleons between Manila and Acapulco in Mexico to protect them against the corsairs. It is carried in religious processions in Manila, escorted of late years by 15,000 persons.

When the Taimay keeper went into the medicine-lodge his face was painted, like that of the Taimay itself, with red and black zigzag lines downward from the eyes (pl. XVIII, *b*; pl. XX, *h*). He wore a skirt made of deerskin painted yellow, and his body was painted the same color. Why this color was used was not known,—it was to them just a part of the ceremony, handed down by their forefathers, and probably originated in a dream; there are many such subjects they are unable to explain, and still others of whose meaning they have a dim consciousness but are unable to elaborate and of which the meaning can sometimes be made out through their prayers. The

¹ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. II, p. 163.

Taimay keeper had sage tied around his wrists during the dance; he held a bunch of live cedar in his hand, and in his mouth an eagle-bone whistle with an eagle feather attached. A blue or green (many Indians do not distinguish between these two colors) sun was painted in the middle of his chest and back, and he wore on his head a cap, made of the skin of a jackrabbit with breath-feather attached. (Pl. xx, *h*; pl. xxii, *g*.)

The Taimay keeper had four assistants, chosen for four years each, to whom he taught the songs and ritual, so that in case of accident there would always be some one who could direct the ceremonies. These four men had deerskin skirts painted white, and a wreath of sage, with eagle feather, on the head. Sage was tied around both wrists and ankles and a bunch of live cedar was carried in the hand. These men did the ceremonial painting, and assisted the Taimay keeper. (Pl. xviii, *a*; pl. xxii, *f*.)

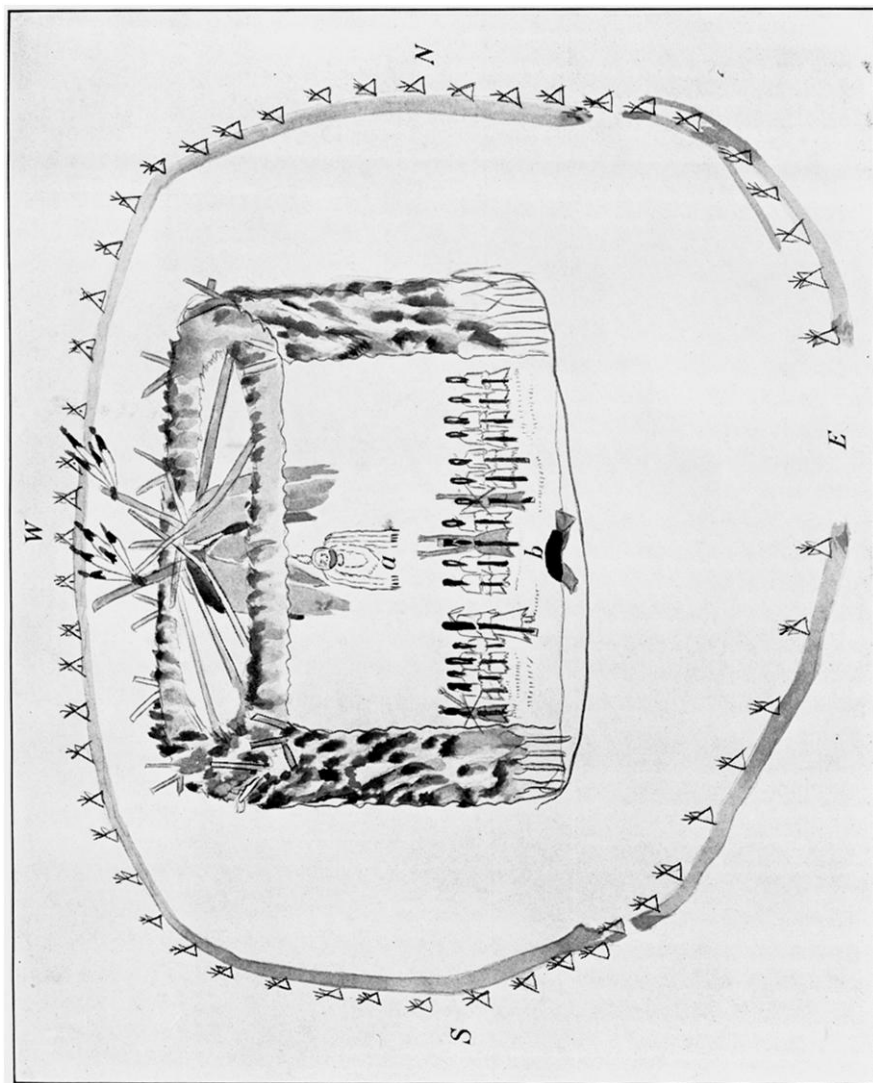
A scalp taken from the Taimay shields, with two long eagle tail-feathers attached, was fastened to the breast and another on the back, and a green sun and two crescent moons were painted on the breast and back. Sometimes formerly these suns and moons were cut into the skin, not at the Sun dance but at some other time. (Pl. xviii, *a*; pl. xxii, *f*.)

The dancers had no caps or wreaths, but each wore a deerskin skirt painted white, and their faces and bodies were painted the same color. (Pl. xxi.)

The Taimay keeper, his four assistants, and all the dancers had eagle-bone whistles with eagle-feathers attached, and all persons connected with the dance wore their breech-clouts outside of their skirts. (Pl. xviii, *a*; pl. xx, *f*; pl. xxii.)

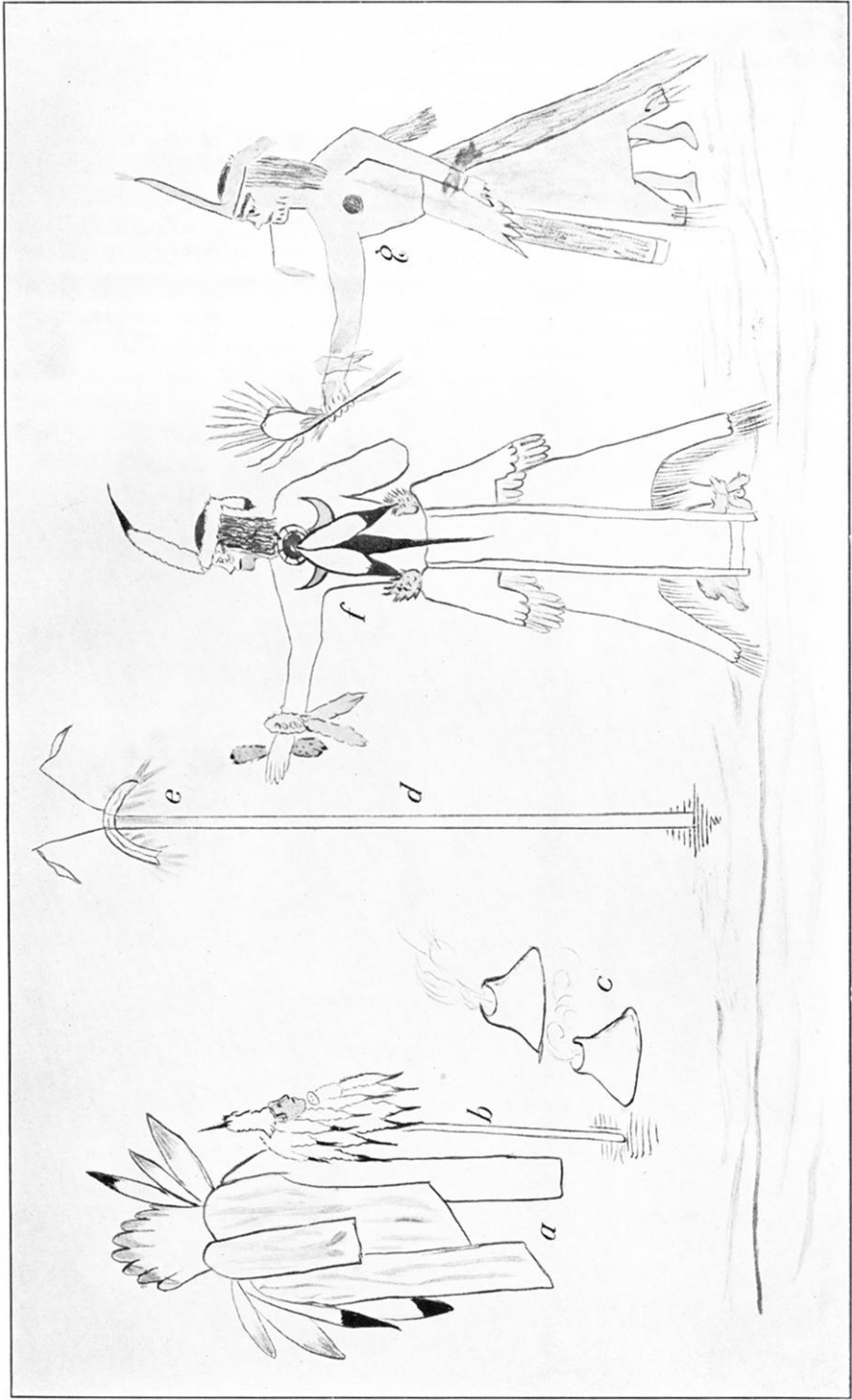
The Taimay keeper entered the medicine-lodge in procession with the others and did not eat or drink or go out of the lodge for four days and nights.

During the time of cutting the poles and branches for the construction of the lodge, the people were scattered through the woods laughing and singing, and in old times there was more or less promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, married and single, but to this no stigma was attached. While not exactly open,



THE DANCERS WITHIN THE MEDICINE LODGE PRAYING TO THE TAIMAY

a. The Taimay. *b.* The flat stone in the doorway of the lodge. The outer circle represents the ceremonial circle of lodges.



THE TAIMAY KEEPER AND ASSISTANT PRAYING TO THE TAIMAY

a. Offerings to the Taimay. *b.* The staff to which the Taimay is attached. *c.* The earthen censers containing coals on which incense is burned. *d.* Sun-dance center pole. *e.* Medicine buffalo-bull hide on center pole. *f.* Taimay keeper's assistant. *g.* Taimay keeper.

this was considered the usual thing at this time and any man that wanted any woman could ask her. Compare the account of Herodotus of the temple of Mylitta in Babylon, and Hartland's account of European spring festivals.¹ The Russians have their festivals in the spring—a general feature of those festivals was the prevalence of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes. Similar festivals were held at one time all over Europe. Consult also the work of the Abbé Dubois,² giving an account of the ceremonies in connection with the car of Juggernaut where "men and women were mixed indiscriminately and liberties taken without entailing any consequences, delicacy and modesty are at a discount during these car festivals." Compare Tanner's *Narrative*, p. 135, as to license among the Chippewa at certain times.

The Kado season was a time of great jollity and rejoicing for the people, and of the reunion of families. The whole tribe was present, with visitors from many other tribes, and all sorts of feasts, soldier dances, and other entertainments were going on among the lodges whenever the people were not actively engaged with the Sun dance proper. By this means the young people of the various villages that lived apart from each other a large portion of the year, were brought together and became acquainted, the nation was solidified, and the effect of holding the dance upon the manner in which the Sun Father would regard them for the next year was considered most important.

While there was a general resemblance between the medicine-lodges of the various tribes (the Crows used raw buffalo hides instead of branches to make the shade, and some of the village Indians on the Missouri had ceremonial earth lodges), and the dancing and whistling with the eagle-bone whistle are similar rites, there were many differences to be noted among the details of the Sun-dance ceremonies of different tribes. The Kiowa, for instance, say nothing about the large collection of buffalo tongues used by the Crows and Blackfeet, but the most conspicuous difference is seen in the Kiowa reluctance to shed blood: there was no

¹E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. II, p. 191.

²*Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 611.

cutting or skewering, no dragging of buffalo skulls as noted in the north. Even the medicine bull must be shot through the heart without wounding the lungs, so that he would not belch any blood, for otherwise misfortune would happen to the people. And no finger joints or bits of human flesh were sacrificed, in which respect it differed from the Dakota Sun dance witnessed by the writer in 1879, where the female relations of the dancers would cut off a finger joint, or a bit of flesh out of the arm, and hold it up as a sacrifice to the sun while making a prayer, and then cast it down at the foot of the Sun-dance pole. The Cheyenne and Arapaho, as well as the Caddo, Wichita, and Comanche, although the last had no medicine-dance of their own, were accustomed to visit the Kiowa dance in large numbers for the sake of the general jollity going on, much as any people gather in crowds at a country fair. In every religious ceremony of the Plains Indians white sage (*artemisia*) was used in various ways on the ground or worn on the body, and green cedar carried in the hand, while dried cedar leaves were used, whenever it was possible to obtain them, to make an incense, though it was believed that any evergreen would do.¹

The writer has never seen any reason given for this, and the hundreds of Indians who have been asked for a reason always replied that the custom came down from their forefathers, without a reason, or else it was directed by their culture hero before they grew up as a people. There is, however, a fundamental reason other than the odor, which was not understood until it was unconsciously explained in a Kiowa prayer to the Sun: "Father! You give us this tree, cedar, because you love it. Every other tree dies, and grass; but this tree, it does not die in winter, its leaves do not drop off in the fall. We think you love it. You take care of it. You keep it always green. You give it a good road. I want you to smell its smoke." The same reason applies to the sage, which keeps green all winter, and the sacredness of these two comes fundamentally from their difference from other vegetation—from the fact that the Father has signified his especial love for them

¹ In fact the writer has been asked to get some of the evergreen leaves of various kinds growing in the Smithsonian grounds in Washington.

by taking care of them and keeping them alive during the winter, when others, to which he is presumably indifferent, are dead. The smoke of the cedar and the sweet vanilla grass are used as an incense, not with the idea primarily of purification, but because the odor is pleasing to "the Father." This custom of offering incense must be very old and probably came to the Christian Church out of a past of great duration.

The above Indian information, as well as the following Kiowa accounts, were obtained by me during nine years spent among the wilder tribes of the present Oklahoma. They were given in the sign language of the Plains and were received directly, without the intervention of an interpreter, or the use of any spoken tongue: it is probable that the following is the first published account of an Indian ceremony described by Indians by means of the sign language alone, and may prove interesting to those who do not know of what the sign language is capable. The illustrations were drawn by Hawgone, a Kiowa.

During this description of the Kado there were present Taybodai, Poor Buffalo, Frizzlehead, Heidsick, and Stumbling Bear, the oldest and most respected men of the tribe. They had all taken part in the Kado from their youth, and had seen many dances. I-see-oh (old name Tah-bone-moh), who had had daily intercourse in the sign language with the writer for nine years, was their "spokesman."

II. THE KADO

"In old times the Kiowa villages used to be divided in winter and camped in different parts of the country, where they would get plenty of game, good grass for the horses, plenty of wood and shelter from the cold, as well as safety from their enemies. In the middle of winter, the man who kept the Taimay would consider about having a medicine dance the next spring—if they make a Sun dance it will drive off sickness from the people. He would be living somewhere with a few lodges only, and would call in the people and tell them what he had determined upon, direct them to send messengers to the other villages, and tell them that in the spring he would make a Sun dance at a certain place when the

grass would be a foot high; that they must stop all foolish or crazy work, like going to war, and everybody must come where the medicine or Taimay keeper appoints,—nobody can stay away. Then they all move in to the place appointed by the Taimay keeper. He then asks if everybody has arrived, and they say, 'Yes, all the lodges are here.' Then he says: 'We will make a medicine lodge. Bring me a gentle horse before sunrise.' Next morning he gets on the horse and the first thing he says is: 'You must stop all quarreling and all foolish conduct. I forbid it!' He has the Taimay in a sack tied on his back by a string around his neck. Some chief then harangues the villages: 'Do not go out to look for your horses. Stay in your lodges; the Taimay keeper says so!' Then the Taimay keeper rides around on the prairie at a distance from the village; everybody looks at him and watches him; he goes all the way round the village to the place he started from—then he goes to his own lodge and dismounts. All Kiowas know him—he forbids all quarreling and crazy work. If any man thinks of doing that he is afraid of the Taimay keeper. Two young men are sent to look for a tree, just like scouts looking for the enemy, for the center pole, near where there is plenty of small green timber and a wide stream. They look for it carefully, not in a hurry; they do it wisely, and all move over near it and camp. If they do not find the tree they come back and the chief harangues the village: 'Have patience. We will soon find it.' They search during the early morning because they can not drink anything while looking for it—they are afraid of drinking. If they drink water then there will be a great deal of rain which will spoil the dance; they are afraid to wash themselves also and throw out the water. When they find the tree, which must have a convenient location and suitable shape, they come back and tell the Medicine-keeper: 'We have found the tree.' During this time the Taimay keeper does not do any work. When he wants anything done he tells the people and it does not fail; everybody is afraid of him. During the time of different kinds of work they drink no water—everybody is afraid of the Taimay keeper; when the work is over then they drink. When the Taimay keeper announces that they have found the tree, the lodges all move over

near it. They call in the soldiers,—there are five bands of soldiers, each one just like your troop of cavalry. The mounted soldiers move out in front and maneuver in the prairie: then come the lodges with the women and children—soldiers on each flank and rear, just as they used to march moving camp near the enemy; the fifth company (Rattle, foot-soldiers) remains in camp. The Taimay keeper is head of all. He has the Taimay on his back. There are 10 or 20 old men with him. He looks back at the soldiers coming. They arrive and dismount. The soldiers all sing and maneuver as they march. When they dismount the Taimay keeper smokes one pipe of tobacco; then they all remount and start out singing and maneuvering: they go on for about a mile when they halt again. The Taimay keeper smokes another pipeful of tobacco. This is done four times in all, and when the fourth pipe has been smoked everybody has been told where the tree is and all hurry to put up their lodges [Battey says the men rush to strike a pole set up in the new camp site], which are pitched by bands in an incomplete circle, the opening toward the east, the doors of the lodges opening toward the center of the circle. The order of the bands is shown in the accompanying sketch.

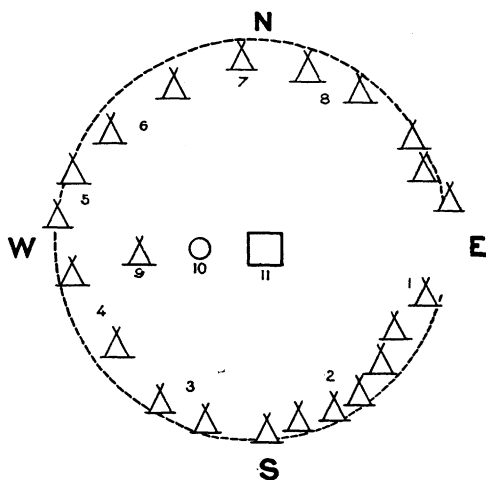


FIG. 53.—Kiowa camp circle. 1, True Kiowa. 2, Elk. 3, Sindays men. 4, Black men. 5, Shield men. 6, Biters. 7, Kiowa Apache. 8, Medicine lodge. 9, Taimay keeper's lodge. 10, Sweat lodge. 11, Medicine lodge.

“The foot-soldiers who remained in the old camp have two horses. They remain there until the village reaches its camp ground: then they send out two mounted scouts; they look for the village just as scouts do when they go to war. After a while they are seen mount-

ing a hill on their return, and they report the village location. Then the foot-soldiers all move out as did the others, making four halts—they make a good line. When the village reaches camp a wide lodge of several lodge-covers is made and food cooked so that the foot-soldiers will have something to eat when they return. They go to the wide lodge and everybody drinks water and eats until sundown. Next morning before sunrise a man goes to look for a buffalo bull—not a cow—a bull. Two men saddle up, go to the Taimay keeper's lodge, and say: 'Wake up! We are going to look for the bull.' The Taimay keeper has a little piece of medicine, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, made of a piece of wood or a root that came from the far north, and it is lent to the man who kills the bull. Other people never have it and do not know what it is. The Taimay keeper says to them: 'Go out on the prairie and find a little herd of buffalo. Have two arrows in your hand—not four; bite off a little piece of that wood, chew it up, and spit on the arrows.' Then he stops, and the two men go out on the right side of the village. The killing of the bull is done by the man who holds the office; nobody else can do it. He must be a man of high standing, able to count coups. Honameatah has it now; Tohansen, his brother, used to have it. They find a small herd of bulls and the buffalo killer starts after them. The other man stays back and watches him. He first counts his coup before he can shoot. He does not shoot two arrows unless the first one fails. He shoots the bull right behind the shoulder. He chases the bull so that when he falls his face will be pointing toward the east, and he falls dead on his belly—not on his side. He dies with his face toward the east and on his belly. That is a wonderful thing. He does it himself. Everybody knows it. He is shot in such a way that no blood comes out of his mouth. In past times when blood has come out of his mouth great sickness has come to the Kiowa, and that is what they are afraid of. They are afraid also if he falls on his side. The bull is generally killed quite early in the morning. When he falls with his face to the east, the other man comes up, looks at him, and says: 'Yes, he is dead.' They picket their horses toward the south. They gather a big bundle of sage grass and bring it to the bull. They put some dried chips about fifteen feet west of the bull and

spread sage on them. Then they go to his head. They have a very sharp knife; a buffalo bull has a very tough skin; it is a two-year old; the skin about the neck is the thickest. Before the buffalo killer can cut the skin he must count a coup or tell where he struck his enemy. He then makes an incision over the right hip bone. He does not saw the hide; he rips it, from the point of incision up to the shoulder, then to the butt of the ear and corner of the mouth, without taking the knife from under the skin. Then he goes to the left hip and rips the hide as he did on the right side without getting in front of the bull. Then he goes back, cuts off the bone of the tail, and rolls the skin of the back until he gets to the horns, and takes the skin of the face all the way to the corners of the mouth and around the nose. Then they lift it up and move backwards, keeping the head toward the east, and spread it out upon the sage. They do not drink any water, but clean meat from the inside of the hide. Then the man who killed the bull brings up the horses and covers his saddle with sage. The horse is held with his face to the east. The skin is unrolled about three feet, the head outside, then put on the saddle. The man goes around the horse's tail to the right side, gets on the horse behind the skin, and makes a prayer to the Sun: 'Look at me, Sun! Let our women and children live good, and buffalo cover the earth. Let sickness be put away.' Then he doesn't turn to the right; he turns always to the left and goes to the village. He trots fast. In the meantime the people are watching for him. When he gets near, he goes slower. The first man who sees him, calls out: 'There he is coming, bringing the medicine bull!' Then he arrives near the end of the enclosure and stops four times. At this time the biggest chief of the Kiowa is in his lodge dressed in a deerskin shirt, with scalps down the breast and arms and down the sides of his leggings. He comes out, everybody watching him. He goes to the horse of the buffalo killer. The horse is facing the Taimay keeper's lodge in the enclosure. He unfastens the hide, going around the horse always by the tail. He gathers the hide and the sage, and puts the hide down on the sage at the Taimay keeper's door. Then the women and children all bring presents and throw them down there and

make a prayer to the Sun. They all have the same prayer: 'Let us all attain to the way-off old persons' road' [i. e., 'Let us all attain old age'], and then they all scatter to their lodges.

"Some time before a big sweat-house has been made inside the enclosure and in front of the Taimay keeper's lodge; it is well covered with robes. After the prayers are all over and the people separate, fire is brought and they put hot stones into the sweat house. Then they bring two chiefs—the one who had the scalp shirt and one other. They come with their backs toward the east, one behind the other, and take hold of the robe with the right hand. The first one takes the robe so that the head laps over the right arm, and they take it into the sweat lodge, carry it around by the south side, and lay it flat with its face to the east. Then the Taimay keeper with a few others also enter. They close the door and put water on the hot stones. Then they open the door for a while. This is done seven times. Then they stop and come out. [Without doubt a series of prayers was offered inside, but the investigation of this was left for another occasion which never presented itself.] Then the two men carry the robe out around by the north side, stopping four times. Then they go inside the door, turning to the south, and lay the hide on the sage prepared for it in the Taimay keeper's lodge, when everything is over for the day. That is the second preliminary day. The next morning, about nine o'clock, they have a sham fight ['a laugh fight'].

"Everybody knows about it. They have breakfast, drive in the horses, saddle up, and mount prepared as for war. They tie up the ponies' tails. Some have guns, some spears with eagle feathers, also shields and warbonnets. The foot-soldier band takes its place in the center of the enclosure. The four mounted bands collect a short distance from the village and come galloping through the gate, turn to the left, go completely around inside the enclosure and out again, turning to the left, keeping around outside, and in again as before. They do this four times, and then go out and stop at some place away from the village. The foot-soldiers then go to where the center tree was found. They make a shield-house [fort] around the tree, and taking their guns, go outside, forming a line

toward the approaching mounted soldiers. The latter charge them, both firing at each other for fun—there are no bullets in the guns. When the horse-soldiers charge they send dust high in the air and the foot-soldiers retire into the fort. The horse-soldiers ride around them, shooting into the fort and striking the foot-soldiers with camp-sticks and spears. So much dust and smoke makes it look like a real fight. When the foot-soldiers get tired they dash out of the shield-house, and that ends the fight. Then they cut down the tree for the forked center pole. It is cut by a woman whose regular office it is to chop the tree—usually a Mexican. All the time I was growing up the same woman cut it. She became old and died, and another woman took up her road. She was a good woman. Her children grew up good, like these children. She was afraid of anything foolish, afraid to do anything wrong. They fell the tree in any direction, and cut the limbs all off, leaving only the two forks. A mounted soldier sees a woman he likes: if she wants him he asks her to ride behind him. Sometimes she says 'yes' and mounts behind him. He has a rope attached to the tree and tied to the saddle, and many of them drag the tree, stopping four times on the way, to where it is to be planted in the center of the enclosure, everybody singing. The outside trees are brought in in the same way. They take the center pole to the hole that has already been dug for it by a band of women soldiers, all women. Only one man is with them, a chief. He puts in the center pole: that is his office. When the middle pole is up, a rope is thrown over the crotch, and the two chiefs bring the robe, tie it to the rope, and many men pull it up to the crotch and tie it so that its face will be to the east, not in the crotch but across the Y. When the dance is finished, the hide is left there. Anybody who rides by and sees it, says: 'Yes there it is. That is the medicine-bull's hide left there.' After the pole is put up and the hide tied to it they stop for that day (3rd).

"On the fourth day the wall poles are brought in and planted so as to make the medicine-lodge from 42 to 60 feet in diameter. On the fifth day the walls are made of branches and the roof is finished. When the walls are finished, being wattled, the old women soldiers go out and fill their robes with clean sand, bring it into the

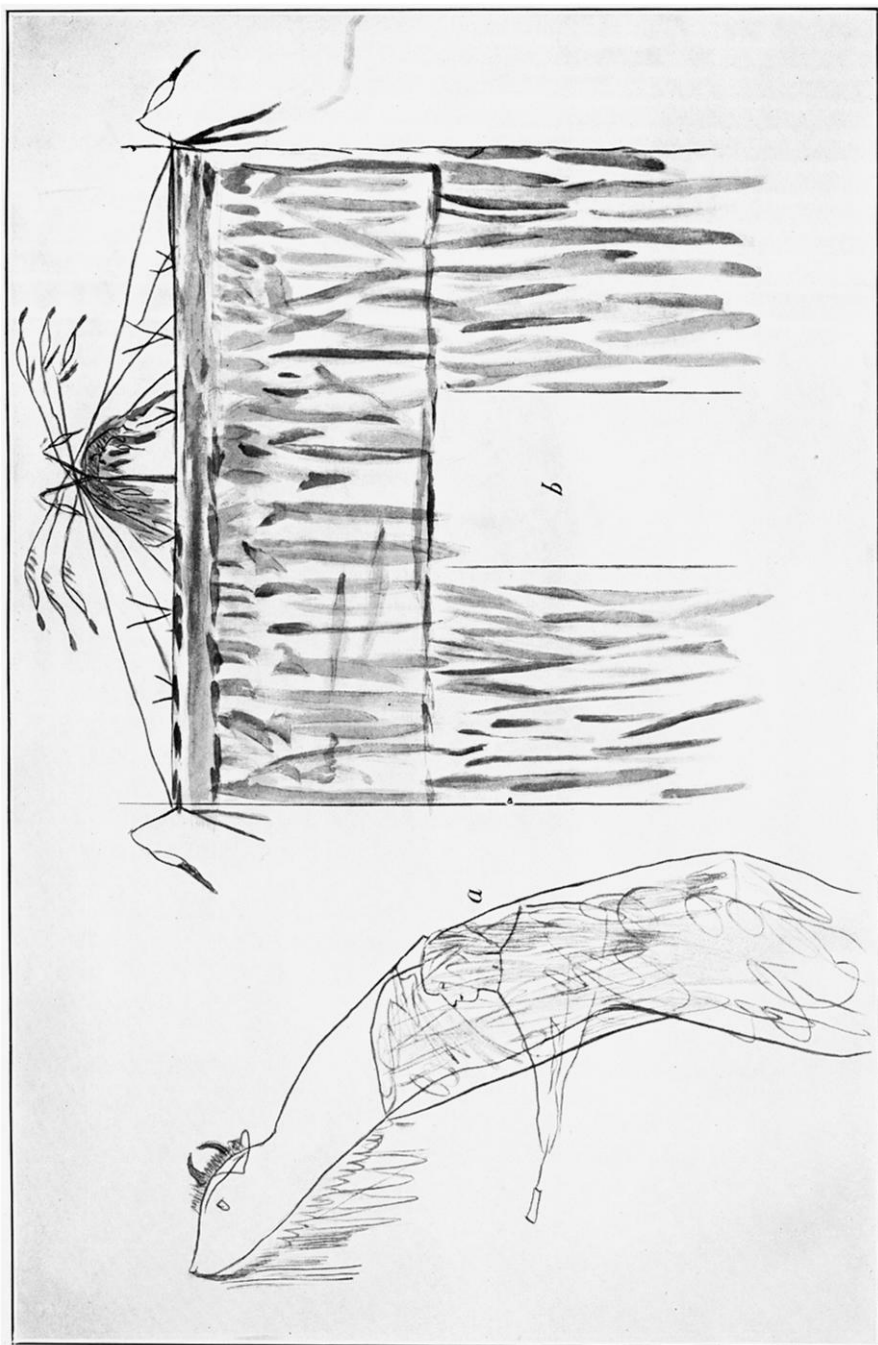
medicine-lodge, and cover the floor all over, and they sweep it out smooth early every morning. The sand is also piled up in a cone around the foot of the middle pole and a flat stone is put in the doorway (pl. xx, *g, h*). Whenever a dancer goes out of the lodge he sets his foot on that stone. The walls and roof are finished. On the morning of the sixth day they 'herd' the buffalo. They then take a lot of robes with the heads and hair on them and stretch them on a frame of willows so that a man can get inside of them and look like a buffalo (pl. xxiv, *a*; fig. 54). There are a lot of men and boys and one woman—always the same woman: that is her road [office, custom]—who go out on the prairie without weapons and have a sham fight, butting and kicking each other. After that they assemble with their robes on, the boys with colt robes on, on the plain near the lodges just like a herd of buffalo, some standing and some lying down—a great many of them just like a big herd of buffalo.

"One man, well dressed, appears with a necklace, a quiver, and bow and arrows in his left hand, and a firebrand in his right (pl. xxiii, *a*). He goes along, all the people watching him. The buffalo out on the flat do not see him. He goes into the medicine-lodge and sits down. There are many men in there, and he sits down with them. He says: 'Look at the buffalo out there!' He talks awhile with the Taimay keeper, then goes out and runs over toward the buffalo with the firebrand in his right hand, going to their windward side; they smell the smoke and all jump up and gaze at him and run away from him, just like buffalo. The people in the village all look at them and say to each other: 'They are just like buffalo.' A man with a straight pipe (pl. xxiii, *b*) stoops down, with his back to the Taimay keeper, who stands in the door of the medicine-lodge (pl. xxiii, *c*). When the buffalo jump up he points his pipe at them and draws it back (thus drawing the buffalo). This is done four times, the keeper each time going back toward the door, until the fourth time when he goes in and stands at the west side. The buffalo are drawn in thus by him and run round outside the medicine-lodge four times. Then, entering, they run round the middle pole four times and then lie down. This man is called 'the man who brings the buffalo' (pl. xxiii, *b*), and the one with the lighted



HERDING THE BUFFALO

a. The man who drives the buffalo. *b.* The man who brings the buffalo. *c.* The Taimay keeper.



(a) MAN COVERED WITH BUFFALO-ROBE, REPRESENTING A BUFFALO. (b) MEDICINE LODGE

firebrand is called 'the man who drives the buffalo' (pl. XXIII, *a*). (Thus they dramatize the old method of taking the buffalo into the pound.)

"Ten men wearing robes come in and sit down, and the whole village comes and stares at the buffalo. Three men then come in, each holding a pipe. These pipes are straight—the bowl does not



FIG. 54.—Man covered with a robe supported with sticks to represent a buffalo.

turn up. They have wooden stems, and are made of black stone, like that black stone pipe Honameatah gave you that used to belong to Old Tohausen who was chief of the Kiowa for so many

years. Those pipes are kept with the Taimay by the keeper, and he lends them to the three men, during the dance. They are very old and belonged always to the Taimay. The three men hold these pipes with mouth-piece presented. One stands still and the other two go and pull the robes off the faces, searching for the man who has counted the most coups. They pull the robe off of a man's face, look at him, and say, 'No that is not the man,' and keep on until they find him. Then they call out his name to the third standing man, who comes and touches him with the pipe and calls out his name as loudly as he can, 'Big Bow is a fat buffalo' and puts a short stick on his hump (of which he carries four), and everybody claps his hands. This is done four times, one each for the four biggest chiefs who have struck their enemies the greatest number of times. Then all go out, and the sun goes down.

"The first day they move into the ceremonial camp circle. The second they kill and bring in the hide of the medicine-bull. The third they have a sham battle and bring in the middle pole. The fourth they bring in and plant the wall poles. The fifth they put on the roof poles and sides, and sand the floor. The sixth they held the buffalo lodge, and in the evening at sundown the dancers enter the medicine-lodge. That evening at sundown those who are to dance without water go into the medicine-lodge. These men are to dance four days and nights without anything to eat or drink. The Taimay keeper dances with them. If a dancer can not hold out he goes home and gets something to eat and drink but does not go back. A great many begin the first day, but by the next night they begin to leave. They fall in number until the morning of the fourth day. Only a few are then left, five or six, all weak with hunger and thirst. I [I-see-oh] did that once. I was there with them dancing. It was pretty good at night when it was cool, but it was very hot in the middle of the day; we almost died from the heat and want of water. On the morning of the fourth day the keeper encouraged us, saying, 'Try hard now. Try hard. This is the last day. I have the same road that you have. I want you to help me now through to the end—then at sundown you can eat and drink.' Toward evening he sent some women to bring water.

I looked at that water and longed for it, water hungry. Almost at sundown he took up the Taimay and put it in its sack. He took the same piece of wood or root that was used by the man who killed the bull, powdered a little piece, and put it into the water brought by the women. He said: 'Our father, the Sun, is looking down at you now. He sees you poor and hungry. He is going to help you live a long time; you are going to see your children grow up strong; you are going to have many children.' Then we drank the water and left the medicine-lodge, and the next day the village broke up and moved away.

"When a man goes into the medicine-lodge to dance he has a whistle made from the wing-bone of an eagle and some sage in his hand. I do not know why he has sage. It came to us from the Crows, who first made the Taimay. Every kind of medicine has sage with it. I think Sinday [the Kiowa culture hero] said to do that. We do not cut anybody in the Kiowa medicine-lodge: we are afraid to do that; we are afraid to see blood there. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux cut the dancers, but we are afraid of the blood. We do not let the bull get shot through the lungs and belch blood: that would be dangerous; we would have trouble happen to us if he belched blood; we are afraid of it. Before we go into the medicine-lodge the keeper with seven or eight other men (any who wish it among the dancers) go into his tipi, take the Taimay out of its sack, fix it up, put its feather on its head, and tie it on a staff about six feet long. Then they come out, the keeper in front, the others behind in single file, the keeper carrying the Taimay by the staff in both hands in front of him. They stop behind the medicine-lodge, then go around to the left, all the time singing, and stop near the door, go four times round the lodge and then go in (it is empty when they go in), and plant the Taimay in its place in the middle and in front of the cedar screen. In old times the two little ones were planted in the same way, one on each side of the big one and all facing the east, but the Ute got these little ones. The dancers then enter, the singers with a big drum just like that little drum you have [which has but one drumhead]—only this is three feet in diameter; ten persons can drum on it at one time. Then the

spectators enter and there is a fire built a little on one side of the door. The only use for this fire is to tighten the drum head when it gets slack. When the dancers all get in they begin to dance in rows with their backs to the east, facing the Taimay. They stand in one place, bending their knees and raising their heels in time to the drum, extending their hands to and blowing their whistle at the Taimay. Behind the Taimay is a cedar screen extending across the lodge from north to south, leaving doors at each end, the butts of the cedars being out from the wall, the tops inclined against it. Above the cedars are hung the Taimay shields, eight of them. In the middle of the night the dancing stops: the singers, drummers, and spectators go home to bed—the dancers and the Taimay keeper go to sleep.

“Before sunrise next morning the drummers come in and the dancing begins again. There are four men chosen by the Taimay keeper to act for four years to assist him, to whom he teaches the Taimay ceremonies. These assistants have fans made of the tail feathers of the raven. When not in use they are kept near the Taimay. These four men go around among the dancers who rush about inside the lodge intermixed: they move these fans through among the dancers searching for the man they want. When he is found the fans are waved at him horizontally, causing him to jump into the air. Then they are swung spirally in front of him, which makes him turn around and fall down as if he were drunk. This is done three times every day—at dawn, at noon, and just before sunset. It confers long life and health on the persons to whom it is done; this is explained by the keeper when they first enter the lodge, and each time before it is done the keeper bites off some of the medicine root, the same lent the buffalo-bull killer, and chews it up and goes around the lodge spitting it upon the dancers. This is good for them. He explains to them that he has no medicine power himself, but the Taimay sees them: it has medicine power; he himself is only a man. After the running about and [ceremonial] killing, the four men, the drummers and singers, go home to breakfast; the dancers do not eat or drink. About nine o'clock the drummers come back; the dance begins again and lasts until dinner time. A man

gets up and dances when he wants to and then sits down near the wall or behind the cedars. Just before the keeper spits on them incense is burned—cedar leaves. The dancers go around in single file, put themselves in the smoke of the cedar, one at a time, and rub their hands, arms, and bodies in the cedar smoke. They all get up and dance at the same time. Then he spits on them, they run about, and four other men are 'killed.' Then the drummers go to dinner and come back about four o'clock, when they dance again. The running about and killing of four other men is finished just about sundown, and the drummers and spectators go to supper. The dancers rest until after supper, when the drummers come back and the dancing is continued until the middle of the night. This is done every day for four days. Just before sunset on the fourth day the keeper takes the Taimay, takes off its feather, rolls it up, and puts it in its sack. He has two sacks, one for the Taimay and the articles that belong to it, and another for his rabbit-skin cap. They are made of *parflêche* just like these *parflêches* you have [to carry dried meat in], only they have a moon painted on them. When the Taimay is put away the water is brought in the vessels. As I told you before, some of the medicine wood, or root, is spit into the pails. The dancers drink very little at a time. If they drink as much as they want, it will kill them. They are allowed only a little at a time until they have got enough. Then the dance is over, and next day the village breaks up and scatters in every direction. The young men go to war against all different kinds of people,—against the Mexicans, Pawnee, or Texans.

"The Taimay keeper dances with the others, and does not eat or drink or go out of the lodge for four days. He is painted yellow all over and has a yellow deerskin skirt made of two deerskins painted yellow. He has sage tied around his wrists and holds cedar in his hand. He wears an eagle-bone whistle around his neck, has a sun painted black in the middle of his breast, another in the middle of his back, a jackrabbit skin cap with a fluffy [breath] eagle feather on his head.¹ The four assistants have each a deerskin

¹ See pl. xx, *i*; pl. xxii, *g*.

skirt painted white and wear their breech-clouts outside, a cap or wreath made of sage with a breath feather, sage tied about wrists and ankles, cedar in the hand, a scalp from one of the Taimay shields on the breast with two eagle tail-feathers attached, two moons painted blue (or green) on the skin, another scalp with feathers and



two other blue moons painted on the skin of the back, and the accompanying design painted on the forehead and cheeks (pl. xx, *a*; pl. xxii, *f*). The dancers have no caps but paint themselves, the face and body, white, and wear their breech-clouts outside of their skirts. Each has an eagle-bone whistle. Only the Taimay keeper is painted yellow."

III. HOW THE KIOWA GOT THE TAIMAY

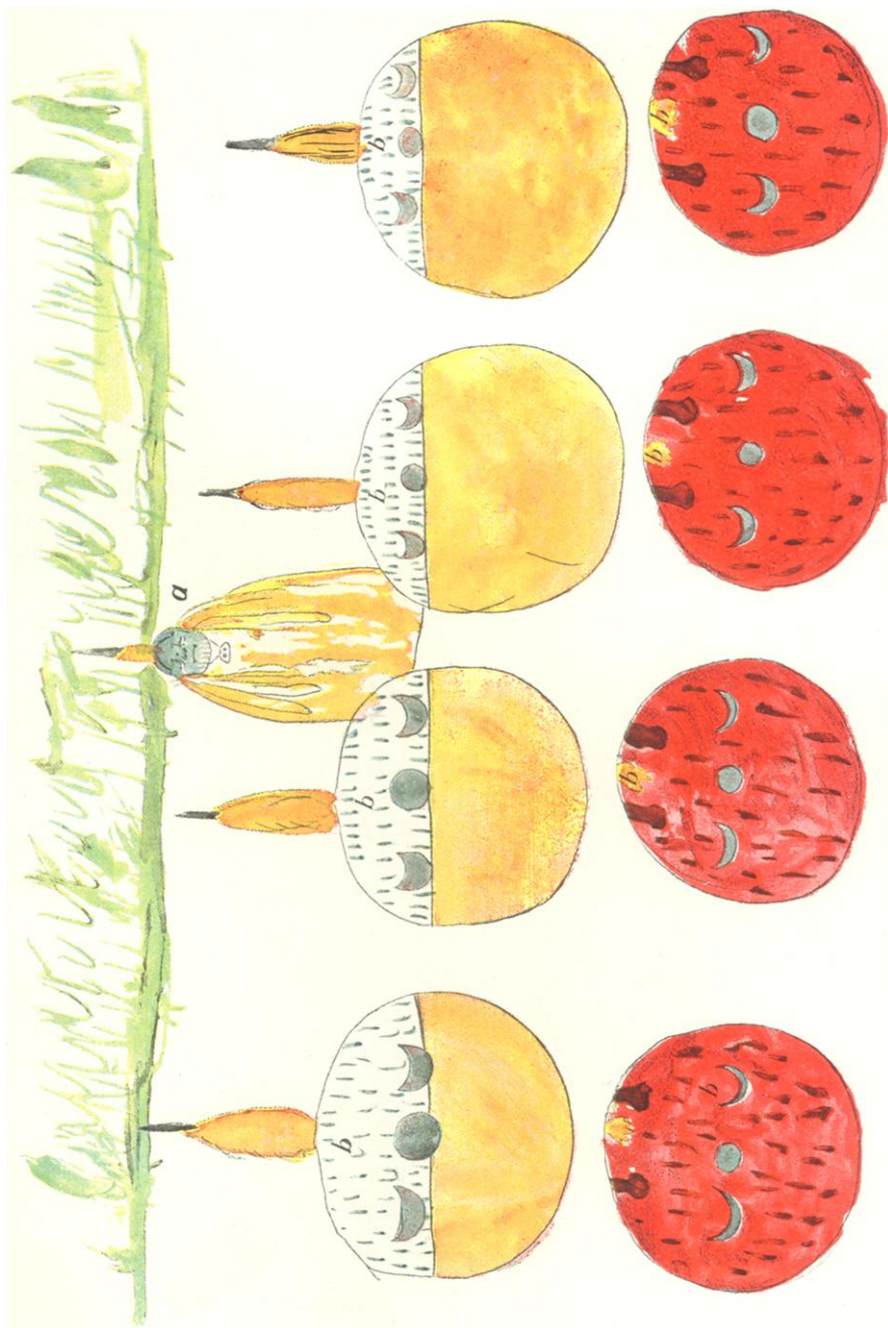
Taybodol (or Shank-of-a-bull's-leg), the oldest living Kiowa, now (1897) about eighty years of age, was found at Horses' Camp, and gave the following account of getting the Taimay:

"While we still lived in the far north and moved our property with dogs, the Kiowa had no Taimay, no Sun medicine.

"One time the Kiowa went to trade with the Crow and took with them an old Arapaho and his wife who lived with the Kiowa and who were very poor and miserable.

"After the trade was over the Kiowa went back. [It is not known whether this "going back" referred to their first remembered home, the "Kiowa Mountains" near the Gallatin Valley in Montana, or whether it was later in their history and they had moved down to the Black Hills of Dakota; the most settled fact in their mind was that they still carried their property by dogs.] The old Arapaho and his wife were too poor and miserable to travel back with them and they were left in the Crow village.

"After some time the Crow chief took notice of them and said: 'I see you there poor and miserable. I am going to take pity on you. I am going to give you some medicine.' And he gave the man the Taimay. After some time the Kiowa went again to the Crow village to trade and, when they left, the Arapaho and his wife went along, taking the Taimay with them, and that old Arapaho made the Sun dance with the Kiowa until he died: then some of his relations took it up.



(a) TAIMAY IMAGE. (b) TAIMAY SHIELDS HANGING ON CEDAR SCREEN WITHIN THE MEDICINE LODGE.
(THE TOP OF THE SCREEN APPEARS AT THE UPPER PART OF THE PICTURE)

"All the time that I was growing up that old man On-so-teen (Long-foot) had it. He was old when I saw him first, and he grew older and older as I grew up and up until his ribs collapsed and he died old, *i. e.*, he died of old age.

"He died at the Sand hills on Elk Creek the winter Fort Sill was established [1870]. He got the Taimay when he was a young man and died a very old man. He made a great many dances. The next man who took it up was Many Stars; his other name was Got-no-moccasins.¹ He made two dances, omitted the third, made the fourth, and died the following fall of a fever ('sick, hot died'). Many Stars' own brother, Many Bears, then took it up. He was a nephew of that Many Bears who was killed before by the Ute on the north side of the main Canadian where the spring is, at the mouth of the little creek. He had it four years and made four dances and then fell sick and died of a fever. After him Taimeday (Standing Taimay), his own brother, took it. Taimeday made three good dances. The time for the fourth arrived but the soldiers stopped it.² Now a woman has it, Long-foot's daughter. Her name is Ee-man-az, 'Food-giver.' Lucius Aitsans' father, Looka, knows how to make the dance. I have heard that four men got the Taimay while they were still young and died old with their ribs collapsed, and Long-foot was the fifth, whom I saw myself. They must have had it seventy years each.

"That old man's name was On-so-teen, which means 'Long-foot.' His other name was Tonanti, an Arapaho word: we do not know what it means."

IV. AGE OF THE TAIMAY

Concerning the antiquity of the Taimay we can only speculate, guided by the light of tradition checked by our earliest records. Mr Mooney thinks the Kiowa obtained it about 1765.³ The writer has long believed that sufficient time has not been allowed for the

¹ Battey, p. 183.

² The writer was with the command ordered from Fort Sill to Anadarko in the spring of 1890 at the request of Agent Meyers to stop this dance. The command included three troops of the 7th Cavalry under Lt. Col. Caleb H. Carlton.

³ 17th Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Eth., 1898, p. 155.

sojourn of the "central group" of Dr Wissler on the Plains and for the development of their distinctive culture. For instance, it is said on the authority of the Dakota winter count that the Dakota did not discover the Black Hills until 1775 or 1776;¹ whereas, La Verendrye reports the "Gens de la Flèche Collée ó Sioux des Prairies" near the Black Hills and probably in sight of them in 1742.² (The writer has seen the Black Hills eighty miles away, towards the Missouri.)

Clark³ and others state that the separation between the Northern and Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho did not take place until about 1850, but it has been pointed out in this periodical⁴ that it was already an accomplished fact in 1816. Again Wissler says:⁵ "The general suggestion seems to be that in so far as the Plains Indians are a buffalo using people and have a culture dependent on the same, their type of civilization is of recent origin and developed chiefly by contact with Europeans, upon this assumption it appears that the peopling of the Plains proper was a recent phenomenon due in part to the introduction of the horse and the displacement of the tribes by white settlements"; and⁶ "Indeed it is difficult to see how the central groups as noted above could have followed their roving life without this animal (the horse)." Wissler appears to give but the short period from 1750 to 1800 for the development of the Plains culture, and says, "We have no information as to the ethnic conditions in this area before the introduction of the horse."

To this I disagree, for it seems very clear, from the accounts of the historians of Coronado's march,⁷ that there were roving tribes following the buffalo in the Plains of Texas in 1542 which transported their property by means of dogs and which in all probability then saw and heard of white men and horses for the first time. They had already developed the sign language of the Plains and their exterior life corresponded in every particular with the description given by the Kiowa

¹ Ibid., p. 157.

² Margry, *Découvertes*, VI, p. 610.

³ *Sign Language*, p. 101.

⁴ *Am. Anth.* (N. S.), vol. 9, p. 545, 1907.

⁵ *Congrès International des Américanistes*, XV Sess., II, Quebec, 1906, p. 45.

⁶ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷ Winship in *14th Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pp. 527, 578, 588.

of their life on the Plains of the north before the acquisition of the horse. Motolinia¹ says:

"Andando muchos días por estos llanos [east of the Pecos river], toparon con una rancheria de hasta ducientas casas con gente: eran las casas de los cueros de las vacas adobados, blancas, á manera de pabellones ó tiendas de campo.

"El mantenimiento ó sustentamiento de estos indios es todo de las vacas, porque ni siembran ni cogen maiz: de los cueros hacen sus casas, de los cueros visten y calzan, de los cueros hacen sogas y tambien de la lana: de los niervos hacen hilo con que cosen sus vestiduras y tambien las casas: de los huesos hacen alesnas: las boñigas les sirven de leña, porque no hay otra en aquella tierra: los buches les sirven de jarros y vasijas con que beben: de la carne se mantienen; cómenla medio asada . . . Tienen perros como los de esta tierra, salvo que son algo mayores, los cuales perros cargan como á bestias y les hacen sus enjalmas como albardillas y las cinchan con sus correas, y andan matados como bestias en las cruces. Cuando van á caza cárganlos de mantenimientos, y cuando se mueven estos indios porque no están de asiento en una parte, que se andan donde andan las vacas para se mantaner, estos perros les llevan las casas, y llevan los palos de las casas arrastrando atados á las albardillas, allende la carga que llevan encima: podrá ser la carga, segund el perro, arroba y media y dios."

Fray Alonso de Benavides says² (1630) in regard to the Apaches vaqueros del ganado de Síbola: "Que cuando estos indios van á tratar y contratar, van las rancherias enteras con sus mujeras é hijos, que viven en tiendas hechas de estos pellejos de Síbola muy delgados y adobados: y las tiendas las llevan cargadas en requas de perros aparejados con sus enjalmillas, y son los perros medianos, y suelen llevar quinientos perros en una requa, uno delante de otro, y la gente llevan cargada su mercaduria que trueca por ropa de algodón y otras que carecen." This is corroborated by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1590,³ by Le Page du Pratz in 1724,⁴ and by others.

¹ *Memoriales de Fray Toribio de Motolinia*, Mexico, 1903, pp. 351-352. Compare also *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 578, and Jaramillo's narration, p. 588, *Fourteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pt. 1, 1896.

² *Historia de Nueva Mexico*, by Gaspar de Villagran, reprint Mexico, 1900, app. 2, p. 45.

³ *Docs. ineditos del archivo de Indias*, xv, p. 209.

⁴ *Hist. de la Louisiane*, III, p. 163, 1758.

When questioned upon the age of the Taimay and the southern migration of the Kiowa, a frequent topic of conversation in those days (1889 to 1897), Taybodol and other old Kiowa said that Tonanti was the fifth man to hold the Taimay from youth to extreme old age, each having a term of about seventy years, making no account of those who, like "Many Stars," had it for a short term only. Taybodol was mistaken, however, as to Tonanti, for we know from other sources¹ that he held it for not more than forty years. Should we allow the other four men a like period their combined terms would aggregate two hundred years from 1870, the date of Tonanti's death, thus taking it back to the year 1670. There must have been numerous short-term men scattered through their history, as happened during the twenty-seven years after Tonanti's death, for it is not to be believed that five such long-lived men would follow one another in succession in the history of any people, but of these no account is taken.

Furthermore La Salle has left us a statement² that the Gattacka and Manrhoat were south of the Pawnee in 1681. The former is the Pawnee name for the Kiowa Apache,³ who stoutly asseverate—and the Kiowa agree with them—that they migrated from the north together and have been together practically ever since. The name Manrhoat may well be, as Mooney thinks, the name of some other tribe for the Kiowa, whence it is more than probable that the Kiowa and Kiowa Apache were on the Canadian and Arkansas before 1681, wandering, as they were reported to the Secretary of War from Fort Gibson, September 15, 1835: "The Kioaways have no fixed villages but wander from the Cross Timbers on the Arkansas, Canadian and Red Rivers to the Rocky Mountains and are sometimes but not often south of Red River—signed Montfort Stokes, M. Arbuckle."⁴

In the list of Spanish documents copied by Bandelier and exhibited at the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892 (p. 323, No. 19), was a copy of an order of the Vicar Don José de

¹ Mooney in *17th. Ann. Rep. Bur. Am., Eth.* p. 241.

² Margry, *Découvertes*, II, p. 201.

³ Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁴ Transcript Sup. Ct. Record, U. S. vs. Choctaw, Chickasaw, etc., p. 138.

Bustamente to Father Fray José Antonio Guerrero, Minister at Santa Fé, to marry a Panana (Pawnee) Indian to a Cargua woman, both servants. This is from the Archives of the Parish of our Lady of Guadalupe of Paso del Norte, Mexico, 1732, and Document No. 20 is a copy of their marriage notice.

Another fact bearing on this subject is that the Kiowa have lived so long south of the Pawnee that they call the north star the "Pawnee star" and assert that the Pawnee towns were right under that star, for in following the Pawnee horse raiders they would always follow their trail by day, and when prevented by darkness they could always keep on all night toward the north star, and be sure of picking up the trail in the morning. As the Kiowa Apache stoutly support the Kiowa in declaring that they got the Taimay in the north before their southern migration together, it follows that in all probability they had already acquired it previous to La Salle's statement of 1681, and the chronology of Old Taybodai may not be far wrong.

V. TABUS, OR "WHAT THE SUN DANCE SHIELD KEEPERS ARE AFRAID OF"

"That old man An-so-teen (Long-Foot) gave them Taimay shields and told them what to be afraid of. He died about 1870, very old. He had had the Taimay since he was a young man. The Taimay shield keepers are afraid to look at themselves in a glass; if they do their eyesight will be ruined. They must not eat buffalo hearts, or touch a bearskin, or have anything to do with a bear; they must not smoke with their moccasins on, or kill, or eat any kind of rabbit, or kill or touch a skunk.

"Bird shield keepers must not touch birds nor throw feathers into the fire nor put a knife in the fire in a tipi; if you cook something for them and the knife touches the fire they will not eat what you cook for them. They must not eat a heart of any kind. You must not cook a heart in such a man's kettle. His wife and children must not eat a heart or any kind of bird because he keeps a bird shield. Santanta had a crane shield. You know about that: you have that shield yourself. Every shield keeper is afraid of something

[i. e., has tabus]. The buffalo shield keeper is afraid of raw liver or anything raw from the inside. He is afraid of putting a buffalo horn into the fire in his tipi. He is afraid to take a pipe-stem above, always takes it below your hand. That is his road. He may be afraid of other things too."

VI. CONCLUSION

It is only when studied in connection with the spring festivals of other peoples that the Sun dance of the Plains Indians is seen in its true light. It then takes its place at once among its kindred phenomena as one of a world-wide series of religious dramas, symbolizing the regeneration of life. It is the worship of the Sun Father whose symbol in the countries of the Old World has been the "phallus," giving rise to its designation as a "phallic cult."

To the Indian the winter is a season of old age or death, all vegetation that produces life is old and worn out or dead; but when the sun shines warm in the spring, the rains come down from above and fertilize the earth, the grass upon which the animals feed comes to life and springs up from the ground, the buffalo drop their calves, the birds and fish lay their eggs, then all nature rejoices in a new birth. The Above Father (the Power in the Sun) has brought this about in conjunction with "Our Mother the Earth." The Indian believed in the dualism of nature, that there can be no birth without sexual intercourse, without sacrifice and suffering, and the acts of the Sun dance symbolize these or relate to making plenty the buffalo upon which they lived.

Every step of this ceremony he regarded as pure and holy, and in following it out the Indian was as sincere and reverent in his worship as any churchman of our time.

Some of the acts observed, as those related by G. A. Dorsey in the case of the Lodgemaker's wife and the High Priest in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Sun dances,¹ have shocked those who have not looked beneath the surface, remembering the stage of culture in which we found the Indian and through which our own forefathers have passed.

¹ *Field Columbian Museum Publication* 103, p. 131, and no. 75, p. 172.

To properly understand this we must compare the history of other primitive peoples in different parts of the world, keeping constantly in mind the difference between the world of myth and fancy inhabited by the Indian and that which we call the world of reality. We must remember that the acts we complain of were commanded by his religion, which was handed down to him by his forefathers, and that, in his mind, upon the proper observation of its rites and ceremonies depended the life and prosperity of his people.

We shall then be able to consider these acts, not with the horror that would naturally be called forth by similar acts today among our own people, but with kindly tolerance as part of the religious culture of the bygone age to which they really belong, when man, creeping slowly upward from the brute, had not yet attained to higher things.

We shall be assisted to this view by a reference to the account of Herodotus of what was done in the name of religion in the temple of Mylitta in Babylon nearly five hundred years before Christ by a people undoubtedly as sincere as we are, and the following references will further broaden our vision as to the extent covered by the worship of the Sun and Earth as our parents.

16th Century. The Florida Indians "have no knowledge of God nor any religion saving that which they see as the Sun and Moon."¹ "It is to be noted for a general rule that these people in all the continent of these Indias from the farthest parts of New Spain to the parts of Florida and farther still to the Kingdoms of Peru had, as has been said, an infinity of idols that they reverence as Gods, nevertheless above all, they still held the Sun as chiefest and most powerful.² Chichimecs and Aztecs, likewise Comanches,³ use the Sun and Earth as mediators.⁴ Nezahualcoatl recognized the Sun as his father and the Earth as his mother."

1630. Apaches of the Rio Grande. "Dijo asi: 'Padre, hasta

¹ French, *Hist. Coll. La.*, 1869. History of the first attempt of the French to colonize the newly discovered country of Florida, by René Laudonnière, pp. 165-362.

² Acosta, p. 334, quoted in Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

ahora no habíamos conocido otro bienhechor tan grande como el sol y la luna, porque el sol nos calienta y alumbrá de día y nos cría las plantas, y la luna nos alumbrá de noche; y así adorábamos á estos dos como á quien tanto bien nos hacía, y no sabíamos que había otra cosa mejor."¹

1680. "Indians of the Mississippi had a particular veneration for the Sun which they recognize as him who made and preserves us."²

1699. "The Hurons believe as well as the Nachez that their hereditary chiefs are descended from the Sun."³ The Detroit Indians "Priat le soleil."⁴

"Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father."⁵

That this reverence for the Sun may be shown not to have been confined to the New World or to a recent period we mention the account of Herodotus⁶ of the interview of Queen Tomyris of the Massagetæ, nearly five hundred years before Christ, with Cyrus the Great, to whom she said: "But if thou wilt not do so, I swear by the Sun, the Sovereign Lord of the Massagetæ, that thirsty though thou be, I will satiate thee with blood." Again, "of all the Gods, they adore the Sun alone to whom they sacrifice horses."⁷ Further information on this point has been gathered by Dr E. B. Tylor in his *Researches into the Primitive Culture of Mankind*,⁸ where he gives the statement of the treaty oath between Philip of Macedon and the general of the Carthaginian Libyan Army, where they invoked the Sun, Moon, and Earth among other Gods, to its sacredness. And the Brahman makes the following prayer to the Sun: "Oh Sun God! you are Brama at your rising Rudra at noon and Vishnu at

¹ Benavides, in Villagran, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

² Father Membre in *Hist. Coll. La.*, part IV, p. 182.

³ Charlevoix, in French's *Hist. Coll. La.*, 1851, p. 162.

⁴ Margry, *Découvertes*, v, p. 115.

⁵ Miss Alice C. Fletcher, The Hako Ceremony, *22d Rep. Bu. Am. Eth.*, pt. 2, p. 30.

⁶ P. E. Laurents' translation, Oxford, 1827, vol. I, p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁸ Vol. II, p. 301.

setting; you are the jewel of the air, the king of day, the witness of everything that takes place on earth; you are the eye of the world, the measurer of time; you order the day and night, the weeks, the months, the years, deign in your mercy to put away all my sins."¹

The idea of the "Earth Mother" is further elaborated by Tylor.² "In Barbaric theology Earth is the mother of all things. No fancy of nature can be plainer than that the Heaven Father and Earth Mother are the universal parents." And Tylor quotes³ in support of this the Aztec prayer to Tezcatlipoca: "Be pleased oh, our Lord that the nobles who die in war be peacefully and joyously received by the Sun and Earth who are the loving Father and Mother of us all." Lastly he says:⁴ "Among the Aryan race there stands wide and firm the double myth of the two great parents, as the Rig Veda calls them; they are Dyaus Pitar, Zeus Pater, Jupiter, the Heaven Father and Prithivi Matar the Earth Mother." The same belief is held⁵ in China, Polynesia, Peru,⁶ among the Caribs,⁷ and Comanche. Many other examples could be cited, but nowhere has the writer seen the whole matter summed up as well as in *Sex Worship*, by Clifford Howard,⁸ from which the following extracts are taken:

"No subject is of greater importance and significance in the history of the human race than that of sex worship, the adoration of the generative organs and their functions as symbols of the procreative powers of nature. It was the universal primitive religion of the world and has left its indelible impress upon our ideas, our language and our institutions. . . . It [phallic cult] was the worship inspired by the phenomena of nature in her great mystery of life, and while its resultant mythologies and attendant ceremonials were carried and adapted from one nation to another, it had numerous independent originations; for the human mind,

¹ *Hindu Man., Cus. and Cer.*, Abbé Dubois, trans. Henry K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1899, p. 245.

² *Anthropology*, p. 359.

³ *Anthropology*, p. 327.

⁴ *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 327.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁸ Published by the author, Washington, 1897

as a whole, is always affected in the same way under similar conditions, and the wondrous phenomenon of procreation has ever aroused in primitive man a deep and religious reverence for the animating powers of life.

"While the highest development of phallicism was reached by the ancient Egyptians, Hindoos, Assyrians, Greeks and Romans, whose records and remains abound in evidence of the phallic basis of their elaborate mythologies and religious celebrations, the existence of this early form of religion is to be found in every part of the globe inhabited by man. Babylon, Persia, Hindustan, Ceylon, China, Japan, Burmah, Java, Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Ethiopia, Europe, the British Isles, Mexico, Yucatan, Peru and various other parts of America—all yield abundant evidence to the same effect and point to a common origin of religious beliefs.

"It must not be imagined, however, that phallic worship is a religion belonging entirely to the past ages. It is common among primitive races among all parts of the world today; and in India, where this form of religion has existed uninterruptedly since its foundation, thousands of years ago there are upwards of one hundred million true phallic-worshippers. Among the Zúñi and other North American tribes phallicism enters into a number of their religious ceremonies, while the natives of the Pacific islands and certain parts of Africa are most ardent devotees in the worship of the procreative functions, and exhibit their religion in the realistic and unequivocal manner of primeval naturalness [pp. 7-9].

"But foremost among all natural emblems of the creative deity was the sun; nay, the sun was the Creator himself, the Almighty God. It was he who gave light and life to the world; upon him all existence depended. Osiris dwelt in the Sun as the Omnipotent Creator, and through this all-potent medium manifested his powers to mankind. All of the ancient supreme gods were closely allied with the sun. It was either the Deity himself or his glorious and almighty manifestation. The worship of the sun, therefore, necessarily formed a part,—a very important and significant part,—of phallic worship. In the adoration of the sun as the Creator and Preserver of mankind lies the origin of a universal theological belief [pp. 75-76].

"This divine, actuating force of nature owed its sacredness to the fact that it was the necessary and inciting means to the accomplishment of the supreme life-purpose of man and woman—the union of the two for the reproduction of life and the perpetuation of the race. It was in the gratification of the Divine Passion that man experienced his most exalted pleasure, and beheld the direct and immediate cause of a new being and

the immortality of life. Hence, the act of generation . . . was regarded as supremely sacred and divine. It was the sublime means ordained by the Creator for the fulfillment of his infinite purpose, and . . . was regarded as a most holy act and was the object of universal worship and devout, religious rites [pp. 130-131].

"The mysteries of Isis and Osiris, of Egypt, the mysteries of the Babylonians, the Eleusinian mysteries of the Greeks, the mysteries of Bacchus and Venus at Rome, together with many others of lesser importance, were all festivals in celebration of the new-born life and the regenerative union of the creative elements of nature. They all set forth and illustrated by solemn and impressive rites and mystical symbols the grand phenomena of nature in its creation and perpetuation of life. In the Eleusinian and Bacchanalian mysteries "the gravest matrons and proudest princesses apparently laid aside all dignity and modesty, and vied with each other in revelry. . . . And these enthusiastic devotees willingly gave themselves up to the embraces of the no less enthusiastic worshippers of the opposite sex, in the nocturnal ceremonies, that had for their object the glorification of the deity in the divine act of generation [pp. 158-160].

"The Liberalia, the Floralia, and the festival of Venus were popular vernal festivals celebrated by the Romans in honor of the procreative deities and their vitalizing function. . . . These springtime festivals, in celebration of the resurrected life and the generative powers of nature, were common among all nations from the earliest times, and it is in some of the particular forms of these celebrations that we find the origin of our own joyous festival—Easter [pp. 162-163].

"It matters not to what race nor to what age we turn, we ever find the same reverent regard for the regeneration of life. Through all the myths and ceremonials of the world, however extravagant or inconsistent many of them may appear, we trace the constant aim of mankind to glorify the Creator and to honor him by the celebration of rites and festivals demonstrative of the adoration of mankind for his supreme powers, wisdom and goodness, while beneath them all lies the universal actuating reverence for the great and unsolvable mystery of procreation—the foundation of all religious worship" [p. 166].

WASHINGTON, D. C.